Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XIX, No. 32 August 11, 1962 Section 1 — News

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Capitol Camera: JFK enlivened listless front pages last week with a demand for more laws (meaning more Presidential power for him to wield) to ban such drugs as thalidomide, the European product blamed for birth of deformed babies. He certainly got headlines. But members of Congress pointed out that the alert Dr. Frances Kelsey of the Food and Drug Administration was able to use existing authority to prevent the sale of the dangerous preparation in this country.

Representative Harold R. Collier (R.-Ill.), who is on the House Commerce Committee dealing with such legislation, said he thought the thalidomide case actually underlined the government's power to control the sale of drugs because it never went on the market. HUMAN EVENTS, checking up with experts on drug legislation, learned that the Food and Drug Act Amendments of 1938 already empower the administrators of this law to pre-test such products as thalidomide.

• *Republican leaders, it is now predicted, will soon attempt to steer through Congress legislation to ensure that the chief of the FBI must be confirmed by the Senate. J. Edgar Hoover is nearing the retirement age and the GOP just doesn't trust Jack or Bobby to choose the right man for the job.*

• The chances of Ted Kennedy's becoming US Senator, assuming he defeats Eddie McCormack in the September primary in Massachusetts, have been lessened by a new factor. Independent liberal and Harvard professor H. Stuart Hughes, a Sane Nuclear Policy leader in the state (and oddly enough, a grandson of the great conservative Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes), has garnered 125,000 petition signatures to put him on the November ballot. A loss of this many normally Democratic votes could well tip the balance.

• *Senator Prescott Bush (R.-Conn.) and a bi-partisan group of his fellow Senators said they would seek to amend JFK's trade bill to keep tighter rein on the Administration in dealing with the Common Market so that American industries will not be injured by international trade pacts. Bush said the Common Market "owes the rest of the free world" reductions in trade barriers and elimination of "their present quotas and other discriminations." He emphasized that Kennedy's proposal to abandon the traditional "no injury to US industry" policy should be "decisively rejected by the Senate."*

• Recently JFK became irritated with French Ambassador Herve Alphand, as he had been with German Ambassador Wilhelm Grewe (who was then transferred)—in both cases because they pushed for the policies of their respective governments. US Ambassador James Gavin, on orders, made suggestions to the French government to have Alphand recalled. When told of this, President de Gaulle reportedly said: "All right. But tell the American President that once Alphand leaves, we shall appoint no other ambassador." The American suggestion was hastily withdrawn.

• *"The figures for the first three weeks of this fiscal year—the first three weeks of July—reflect a deficit of more than $4 billion spending," writes Lyle C. Wilson, UPI columnist. "Items that are substantially up this year compared with last include: Foreign aid; Aeronautics and Space Administration; Veteran Administration; Health, Education and Welfare."*

UN Bond Issue: Under sharp questioning by House Foreign Affairs Committee members, Administration officials disclosed a hitherto unpublicized device by which the US has been subsidizing Communist and neutralist nations in the UN.

Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs Harlan Cleveland, testifying in favor of the $100 million bond bill, reluctantly dropped this bombshell after running into some penetrating interrogation by Representative Robert Chiperfield (R.-Ill.).

The startling facts bared by Cleveland, who has become known as the "UN bond salesman," shocked committee members when they learned the *modus operandi* of this extraordinary scheme. The US, Cleveland admitted, had voluntarily given the UN $215 million out of foreign aid contingency funds. Then the UN proceeded to use part of this sum to reduce India's assessed share of special UN expenses by $812,000; Poland's by $512,000; Yugoslavia's by $243,200; and Cuba's by $140,800.

These facts take on new significance in light of a recent advisory opinion handed down by the World Court. Under this decision, which the UN may soon adopt as legally binding, these special assessments were considered no different from regular UN dues.

Under the UN charter, those who don't pay dues lose their voting rights. Thus, US funds given to the UN have been used to help Communist countries maintain their voting rights. "That's representation without taxation," snorted one congressman.

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Committee members also gasped when Cleveland told them the bond bill was only a "stopgap" measure and that the UN would have to continue to tap the US taxpayers for most of its funds. Representative Barratt O'Hara (D.-Ill.), who had previously predicted the committee would give almost unanimous approval of the UN bond issue, now says the measure is in trouble.

Eclipse of Bobby: Evidence accumulates that the image of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy is dimming as rapidly as that of his brother. As described last week, the President has ordered Bobby to withdraw from the upcoming political campaign. At the same time, the House of Representatives moved to restrict Department of Justice powers in anti-trust investigations.

Last week Bobby's Department—which a few months ago was breathing punitive fire on the necks of big business—announced an out-of-court settlement with General Electric Company for damages allegedly arising from price fixing by that corporation. The settlement amount was $7,470,000, which both government and company declared reasonable.

General opinion was that the settlement was "a good one" for General Electric. Wall Street sources contacted by HUMAN EVENTS were surprised at what they called the leniency of the deal and thought it indicated a new, "easy on business" attitude by the New Frontier. The *Wall Street Journal* carried a report that the deal could be part of a government program to show it isn't hostile to business. In any case, Bobby's image has emerged as one that has been "softened up."

Some speculation in Washington stresses that, with the decline in popular favor of the Kennedy regime and at the same time its diminishing hopes for a good Democratic showing in the November elections, the New Frontier is bending to the prevailing wind.

Further, it is suggested, a widening interest in the theme "JFK will be a one-term President" has down-graded not only JFK but also Bobby. The latter, until recently, has inspired no little fear among business elements because of his threats to use anti-trust powers and investigations of business firms.

But, in the present new climate, prospective victims of the Attorney General's roughness may feel less fear of government litigation (which often is stretched out over years of court action), when they envision the possibility that after '64 neither may JFK be President nor Bobby Attorney General.

However that may be, Capitol Hill notes that Bobby has literally as well as figuratively gone on vacation, reportedly to "rough it" in the Rocky Mountain wilds, and has become vocal only on the issue of "the physical fitness of the nation."

Atomic Testing: Representative Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.), a highly respected member of the House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee, sharply attacked President Kennedy's statement last week hinting at new and relaxed inspection procedures in any atomic test ban proposal offered to the Russians.

Hosmer said: "The new position could well amount to no more than a blueprint for piecemeal surrender to Soviet demands." The California Congressman charged that a treaty with inadequate safeguards could allow the Soviets to achieve an "overwhelming nuclear weapons superiority" through a system of clandestine tests.

Earlier in the week Hosmer accused White House lieutenants of mounting a skillful "brainwashing" campaign to prepare the American people to accept newer and relaxed inspection procedures although, he said, there was nothing to justify such steps.

The brainwashing campaign, charged Hosmer, began when the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) issued a press release on July 7. This release was widely interpreted by the "non-scientific" press, said Hosmer, as disclosing new seismograph techniques whereby the United States could more easily detect underground blasts within the Soviet Union. The press has claimed that as a result of these new techniques fewer US inspections would be necessary inside the Soviet Union.

Hosmer strongly denies this to be the case. "Only by disregarding all the difficulties implied in the ARPA press release," said Hosmer, "can thought of accommodation toward the Soviet test ban position [limited inspection] be excusably entertained." In addition, Hosmer warned that the original inspection proposals offered by the US in a test ban treaty last year were never adequate in the first place. Therefore, improved detection would only bolster the weak safeguards in the original proposals.

Moreover, said Hosmer, "I have determined that the press release was not ARPA's idea at all. It was suggested by Deputy Defense Secretary Roswell Gilpatric, who, in turn, had been nudged by McGeorge Bundy, special assistant to the President . . ." (Bundy, an ultra-liberal, is the leading White House lieutenant on national security affairs.)

Afterwards, the Washington *Post* and the New York *Times*, "habitual willing handmaidens in White House news leak and trial balloon operations, began running informed source stories about possible new US positions at Geneva based on the supposed improvements . . . Thus began . . . a careful preparation, brainwashing . . ."

Pat's Problems: Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown is finding out that it will take more than 12 PR men to put muscles on what some consider his very weak public image. As a result of recent statements and actions, the phrase "pitty-pat" Brown is once again creeping into the language of those referring to the Governor.

The last few weeks have definitely done Brown no good, say Californians just back from visiting their home state. After weeks of hemming and hawing, Brown, as a result of Nixon's needling, finally repudiated some of the more ultra-liberal

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planks adopted by the California Democratic Council (these Democratic clubs are considered the backbone of the Democratic party in that state).

Brown's belated repudiation has angered conservative Democrats who feel he should have denounced these CDC resolutions sooner; CDC stalwarts, on the other hand, are reportedly highly displeased at Brown's declarations.

The Governor, moreover, was on the horn of another political dilemma last week when he quietly returned private files on subversives to the San Diego Research Library after the Library had initiated a $250,000 suit against the State. In an extraordinary move last February, Brown expressed approval of the State's seizure of these files from the San Diego National Guard Armory, where they were temporarily stored. Brown claimed the files were "quasi-military" in nature and thus should be in the State's possession.

If Brown had good reason to seize them why has he returned them, apparently intact, without so much as a by-your-leave? Californians remain puzzled, but they are charging the whole affair up to Brown's ineptness.

Michigan: A conservative vs. liberal battle for control of the Republican party within Michigan's 14th District (Detroit's "East Side") will climax on August 15 when a precinct delegate convention will make the decision.

A liberal coalition which lost control in 1956 to a more effective conservative leadership, headed by Richard Durant, is attempting to regain power.

George Romney, likely GOP nominee for governor, is demanding Durant's ouster because he is a member of the John Birch Society. Durant declares he is a member but has expressed his disagreement with Robert Welch over the Birch leader's opinions on Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles. The Durant supporters claim this campaign against him is designed to stamp out conservative influence in the Michigan Republican party.

Workers' Victory: In a valiant, uphill battle, two members of the International Association of Machinists in California have won their fight with that union over whether they should be free to express political opinions contrary to union policy. Last week, the IAM, which had planned a US Supreme Court appeal of an adverse state court decision, decided to drop the case.

The two union members, Cecil C. Mitchell and John Mulgrew, were expelled from the union (but retained their jobs) for campaigning for a proposed right-to-work law during the 1958 congressional elections. As they fought for reinstatement, their case gained nationwide attention and people wondered just how far a union would go to restrict a union member from expressing his free political convictions.

But the long struggle has cost the two men dearly in terms of finances, and Mitchell, the father of two, has fallen into poor health. Yet he is far from through fighting, and this year is working for the re-election of his Congressman, conservative Republican Edgar W. Hiestand.

Last week Representative Hiestand told HUMAN EVENTS: "The sort of courage these men displayed, in the face of a powerful labor organization with its large battery of lawyers, is typical of the free spirit of the vast majority of American workingmen. In my District I have always been strongly opposed by the union bosses. And I have won only because so many workers vote the way they believe and not the way they are told."

Medicare Defeat: A Republican congressman has conducted extensive polls in his District which indicate that an enlightened electorate was responsible for the defeat of JFK's Medicare program.

Pennsylvania's Robert J. Corbett mailed out a questionnaire in February, asking: "Would you vote for medical care for the aged financed through social security payments?" The wording was much the same as that used in polls taken by the Administration and other proponents of the plan. The results of Corbett's poll: 56 per cent replied yes; 44 per cent no.

But after President Kennedy's impassioned appeal for the King-Anderson Medicare bill (followed by a brilliant televised rebuttal by the American Medical Association's Dr. Edward R. Annis) Corbett decided to poll the voters again, this time with a more specific question: "Would you vote for the King-Anderson bill to provide deductible hospital insurance to social security beneficiaries over 65, financed by increased social security taxes?" In a staggering reversal of opinion, 70 per cent said no, only 30 per cent yes.

Stated Corbett: "This dramatic reversal in sentiment can perhaps be explained as the result of six months of public discussion of the issue in which the electorate has had more facts brought to its attention."

Appeasement in Japan?: Many congressmen are highly agitated at the recent appointment of career diplomat John K. Emmerson as the No. 2 man in the US embassy in Japan.

Emmerson, who was attached to the Far Eastern desk in the post-war period, is under severe attack from Japanese rightists who claim he has a long record of favoring Communists. The rightist Shiunso society has sent a letter to a number of Washington lawmakers protesting his appointment for this reason.

While the State Department has sent a letter to lawmakers praising Emmerson as "one of the outstanding" officers in the foreign service field,

REVEREND DARREL G. SMITH, Independent Mission Church, Charles City, Iowa: "We feel that there is nothing like HUMAN EVENTS published in our country. It meets a real need. We only wish every American could have the privilege of reading it. You are doing a great work."

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available evidence shows Emmerson to be less outstanding than the Department's glowing tribute would indicate. Ritoku Obama, a top Japanese radio commentator, reports that Emmerson openly praised communism when he was on General Douglas MacArthur's advisory staff in Tokyo. Obama says Emmerson told him: "Not a single Japanese is reliable; only the Japanese Communist-held prisoners.'

General Albert C. Wedemeyer (USA, Rtd.), commander of the Chinese Theater in World War II, writes the following about Emmerson (then attached to Wedemeyer's staff) in his book *Wedemeyer Reports*:

". . . Reading reports sent to me and to the State Department by Davies, Service, Emmerson and Ludden, it seems obvious not only that their sympathies lay with the Chinese Communists, but also that they were either consciously or unwittingly disseminating exaggerated or false, Communist-inspired, reports concerning the Nationalist Government designed to stir up all manner of Sino-American distrust. . ."

Gold Crisis: Despite President Kennedy's firm promise on the Telstar broadcast, July 23, that the US would not devalue the dollar, many Europeans remain unconvinced.

True, the pledge wiped out the rise in the price of gold which had taken place in London. But a very sceptical attitude persists among various financiers in Europe. They still fear another gold crisis, recalling that these crises have been recurring despite American pledges not to devalue.

HUMAN EVENTS' correspondent in Switzerland reports some bankers in that country have their fingers crossed about JFK's promise.

The recent visit to Europe by Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, did not relax the tensions in Switzerland, which maintains a large gold reserve—held for safekeeping in the US. Bankers there noted that Heller said the US would not devalue "at this time," and that he talked of a plan by which gold held by foreign governments in the US would be placed in an "international pool."

These financiers—says our Swiss correspondent—are apprehensive that if another crisis comes the US might prevent foreign depositors from withdrawing their gold on the grounds that this would "create speculation."

They recently inquired of the Swiss Federal Bank in Berne whether, in view of the present weakness of the dollar, their gold reserves in the US should be withdrawn. The Federal Bank, after consulting the Swiss Foreign Office, relayed the official government answer: Leave it in the US, for two reasons. (1) Withdrawal might cause a panic not only in the US but also in the international markets; (2) the danger of a Soviet Russian invasion of Western Europe still exists.

However, reports our correspondent, these Swiss bankers remained unconvinced. They minimize the danger of Soviet attack and, above all, they distrust the unsound fiscal policies of the Kennedy regime. Despite JFK's pledge not to devalue, they fear the US may be forced to do so.

They mention the continued wild spending of the New Frontier and view with alarm the carefree attitude of Budget Director David Bell toward deficits and the dangers of inflation.

Principally, they have no confidence in Chairman Heller. One Swiss banker commented: "He is a dangerous man. He knows nothing of practical finance and economics but believes the economic face of the world must undergo a thorough face-lifting. He is a hopeless utopian."

Book Event: Washington's appetite for a new book by a "prominent liberal" was whetted last week by the appearance of one passage from the book introduced into the *Congressional Record* (July 30, pp. 14061-2) by liberal Senator Maurine Neuberger (D.-Ore.). The book (which will soon be published by Doubleday) is entitled *A Yankee From the West,* the autobiography of former Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Democrat of Montana —a man who rated as a leader of the "liberals" years ago and still maintains a rigid code of liberalism.

He writes caustically of present-day liberals: "What bothers me about today's 'liberals' is this: Through the ages, those called liberal fought to take the power away from the kings and emperors and to give it to the parliaments; now it is the 'liberals' who are anxious to give more and more power to the executive, at the expense of the legislative branch . . .

"Too, the modern 'liberals' preach tolerance but in some ways are extremely intolerant themselves. They would cast into outer darkness anyone who does not go along with them 100 per cent. And some of our labor leaders have become so powerful they try to tell legislators how to vote not only on union legislation but on foreign policy and civil rights issues as well."

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

Now I lay me down to sleep
I pray the state my soul to take
If I should die before I wake
I hope the Court made no mistake.

—From a letter to the editor in an Oregon newspaper.

Volume XIX, No. 32—Section II

August 11, 1962

Austrian Medicare: Sick, Sick, Sick

The following is a dispatch to the Chicago Tribune *from Vienna, Austria, dated July 28, 1962:*

ONE OF THE OLDEST public health insurance systems in the world (it had its beginning in the 1880's) is sick itself. Apparently it always has been and always will be.

A Viennese woman touched on this congenital disease of the "Krankenkassa" (Austria's medicare) recently as follows:

"My man and I are seldom ill. We were used to sending our Krankenscheine [sick tickets] to one particular doctor. We considered him our family physician. We wanted to help him.

"Every three months as we got the tickets I would send them to the doctor whether we were sick or not. Everybody does it.

"Then one day I really needed a doctor. I had an infection in my eye and he swabbed it out. Then he told me, 'Don't think that your two tickets are enough for this treatment. Send me your father's ticket, too.'"

Two common abuses are thus revealed by the woman's story. Sick tickets are wasted on persons who do not need them. Sick tickets are cashed by doctors who render no service to get them. The insured pay for these irregularities through the inescapable premiums.

The sick ticket is the heart of the system. An Austrian doesn't have to be sick to get it. He has a right to it, sick or well. A ticket costs him nothing and he can save nothing by not taking it. It is worth three months of doctor care to him and some schillings to the doctor.

It is easy to call the woman's doctor a petty thief, but any doctor committed to the "Krankenkassa" service can readily justify such embezzlement. For every "free" ticket he may snatch there may be another tendered by a hypochondriac. The result is that his waiting room is always crowded.

The people simply do not want the three features of the Administration's legislative program: more executive authority, bigger government and greater spending.

—Representative Edgar W. Hiestand (R.-Calif.)

And what he gets back in cash for either kind of ticket—one worked for or one merely cashed—is about what it costs him for a plumber (with helper) to fix the leaky washer on his consulting-room sink.

ABOUT 85 PER CENT of Austria's 7 million people are covered by the plan and for this the wage-earners have 2.5 per cent taken out of their salaries while their employers contribute another 2.5 per cent.

But just try to persuade the average Viennese that he or she is not getting something for nothing.

Some do, of course, the reward being perhaps three months of attention by an overworked doctor in return for his charge of about $2 worth of tickets.

From the "Krankenkassa's" annual income of $48 million, only 14.2 per cent goes to the doctors, who call this the lowest percentage among public health schemes in all Europe.

While these fees have increased about sevenfold since 1945, inflation has multiplied living costs by 9.2 and average net wages by 10.7.

Since April 17, when their contract with the "Krankenkassa" ran out, Vienna's 1,500 doctors have refused to treat patients at the old quarterly rate of $1.70 for general practitioners or $2.20 for specialists. It is a kind of strike.

Socialist spokesmen, editorialists and some officials have attacked the doctors as greedy plutocrats who already are earning plush incomes (by Viennese standards) of $400 a month.

The doctors say this is a lie—that the average practice nets, after taxes and other overhead, only about $148 a month.

The doctors demand a raise in the quarterly rates to $2.40 and $3.40 respectively.

The "Krankenkassa" bureaucracy says this would impose an increase of 10 per cent in its budget. The bureaucracy's best counteroffer at this writing: a monthly raise estimated at from $68 to $76.

GLOOMIEST GUY—"A description of the saddest man alive: The guy who voted for Nixon, bought IBM at 600, sold his rocking chair factory, and moved to Saskatchewan for his health." (Letter by Gerald Schick of Queens in the New York Daily News)

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North Dakota Merchant Fights Medicare, Wins New Customers

Who says the small-town merchant must avoid controversy at all costs? Robert F. Dunahey of Bismarck, North Dakota, has proved that a merchant *can* take sides. In fact, adds Dunahey, a businessman *must* take sides.

Dunahey, owner of Dunahey's Paint Spot, set up a veritable medicare information bureau at his 5th Street store. As the photograph shows, he devoted precious show window space to newspaper clippings, pamphlets and "write-your-congressman" flyers. An overhead sign invited passers-by to drop into his store for information.

"Our taking a stand on this vital issue, contrary to most businessmen's belief, did not hurt our business in any way that we can see," said Dunahey. "We do know that we developed some good friends, who are already proving their loyalty by remembering us when they have paint needs."

Added Dunahey: "Businessmen must wake up—study issues and stand for their convictions.

"The reward? An inner feeling that cannot be replaced by even the busiest day."

Bismarck attorney Charles L. Donlin described Dunahey's display-window project as "a good example of what *one* man can do." Dunahey, said Donlin, "is a good conservative who thinks that it is time for all citizens, especially businessmen, to *do something* besides talk over coffee."

Dunahey's example is instructive to all conservatives because it illustrates that businessmen—in the words of FDR—"have nothing to fear but fear itself." Ninety per cent of all businessmen—is it as many as 99 per cent?—are frightened to death at the thought of "making enemies." But, is "the customer *always* right?"

Businessmen forget that the public honors the businessman—or any other man—who has the courage of his convictions and is willing to fight for them.

What can *one* man do? Robert Dunahey thought about this and said: "We have the best medical care in the world! . . . Let's keep it that way. . . !" He then set about telling as many people as possible what he believed.

Reprints of this section are available: Single copy 20 cents; 10 for $1; 25 for $2; 100 for $5; 500 for $20; 1,000 for $30. Order by section number and date of issue.

Robert Taft, Jr., Republican nominee for Ohio congressman at large, does not buy the argument that the Federal government must do for the people what their state officials fail to do.

Says Taft: "You hear that from people who can't get what they want by persuading a majority of voters in the states that what they want is right."

TAFT

'Arthur Lets Them Know About It'

From *U.S. News & World Report*

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., former Harvard professor, now special assistant to the President and referred to by White House aides as "the liberal conscience of the Administration," is said to have objected strongly when Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, paid a visit to Spain. Said a White House aide: "Whenever the President or someone in the Administration seems to be moving a bit to the 'right,' Arthur lets them know about it. He felt it a disaster for Secretary Rusk to visit Spain—a country ruled by a dictator."

Former Florida State Senator F. Onell Rogells is the Republican candidate facing Democrat James A. Haley in Florida's 7th Congressional District election in November. An article in last week's HUMAN EVENTS, "More House Seats for Florida GOP?," incorrectly identified Rogells as F. Onell Rogers.

Labor Should Be Put Under Anti-Trust Laws

Representative David T. Martin (R.-Neb.) discusses his proposed legislation to subject labor unions to anti-trust laws in this week's HUMAN EVENTS *Congressional Interview.* In calling for the adoption of such legislation, Martin cites the necessity of reinstating free collective bargaining in settling labor disputes. He points to the numerous examples of government interference with collective bargaining as one compelling reason for restoring bargaining power to local unions. "Local officers know local conditions [*i.e.*, the cost of living] much better than an international union president thousands of miles away," says Martin. Inform yourself on this legislation, which many Capitol Hill observers feel is the answer to the serious problem posed by the vast labor monopoly.

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QUESTION *of the Week*

QUESTION—What procedures and groundwork at the local level are necessary to combat vote frauds and assure honest elections?

ANSWER—Speakers at the Fourth HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference had these comments and suggestions:

The will to win the election is a prime requisite; it is the responsibility of the party being defrauded to take all needed steps in order to preserve the integrity of the ballot. Precinct workers must know their local election codes (which vary from state to state) and guard against fraudulent practices; in addition, precinct workers must also be familiar with their neighborhood. Precinct captains can best implement this by seeing that door-to-door visits and personal contacts are diligently made.

The areas most apt to fall prey to dishonest registration and balloting practices are those containing large numbers of poorer people, racially-mixed areas and transient neighborhoods; it is here that economic pressure, union pressure and even outright bullying can be used by unscrupulous party hacks to swing elections their way. In addition to the usual practices of listing ineligible voters, ghost voters, *etc.*, there have been instances where polling places have been shifted at the last minute or where an insufficient number of voting machines has been supplied in non-party-in-power areas.

In cases where persons have moved out of the voting precinct and are thus ineligible to vote in that given precinct (or have died), conscientious party workers can take heart from a vigorous civic-group campaign in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. There, the registration commission is now entitled by law to obtain from the post office any information regarding people who have left the precinct. As a result of this hard-hitting campaign, 65,000 unqualified names were stricken from the rolls in Allegheny County alone (population, 1,700,000).

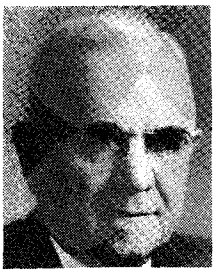
At the time of actual balloting, many people can be easily intimidated due to their own uncertainty as to their choice. Thus it is apparent that the polls must be kept entirely free from any partisan influence. Challengers from both parties should be present at the polls (the actual procedure varies according to state law); it is the duty and obligation of the challenger to question any voter whose eligibility appears doubtful.

In a word: Effective grass-roots action to see that the voting rolls are correct and that the actual voting and counting of the ballots are honestly carried out is a cornerstone of the American process. This is easier to bear in mind when we remember that a shift of only 12,000 votes out of the 69 million cast in 1960 would have kept JFK out of the White House.

SPENDING AND THE WAGE-PRICE SPIRAL—"President Kennedy can talk all he wants to to Big Labor and the steel industry about holding the line on wages and prices, but if he continues a policy of spending more money than the Federal government collects in taxes, labor and management are going to be forced to push for wage and price increases." **(Representative Thomas B. Curtis, Missouri Republican)**

Capitol Hill Comment

THE MASON "RETIREMENT PROGRAM"—"I do not expect to hibernate or stagnate. I plan to become a missionary—a missionary to the liberal heathen of the [Capitol] Hill. In my pursuit, I plan to spend six months of every year in Washington, preaching the gospel of conservatism to those members [of Congress] who will listen and who may yet be saved to a happier future." **(Representative Noah M. Mason, Illinois Republican, commenting on his 82nd birthday on his plans to retire from the House in January, 1963.)**



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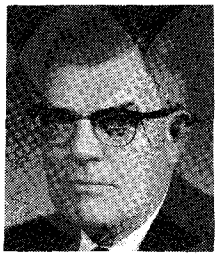
RUTHLESS GOVERNMENT—"This brutal power is exemplified by the case of the person who had been a citizen of the United States for a year, having come from a country where the welfare state is farther advanced than in this country. She wrote a letter to the President opposing the King-Anderson Bill. The reply did not come from the White House, but rather from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, indicating that this Service had the power to revoke her citizenship and deport her. The President has compassion for those who agree with him, and nothing but abuse for those who disagree with him." **(Representative James B. Utt, California Republican)**

* * *

BAD YEAR FOR LBJ—"Following the swearing-in ceremonies of Senator [Joseph H.] Bottum, Vice President Lyndon Johnson ushered Joe and me along with a number of other South Dakotans into his ceremonial office for pictures. (Pictures are forbidden on the Senate floor, so newsmen have the swearing-in ceremony re-

JOHNSON

MUNDT



BOTTUM

enacted in the Vice President's ceremonial office.) As the Vice President went through the ceremony again, he quipped: "I certainly hope this isn't an omen of what's to come—all I have been swearing in this year have been Republicans." **(Senator Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota Republican)**

TITO ON ARTISTIC FREEDOM—"We have had a very liberal attitude. We shrugged our shoulders, thinking nobody would be harmed if we allowed people to say and write what they wanted. In this we have gone too far. We certainly do not want to teach writers and tell them what they must write, but we will not allow anyone to write nonsense and caricature and distort our social life." **(Yugoslav President Tito)**

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RACES *of the Week*

By WILLIAM SCHULZ

This article is the third in a special series, Races of the Week, a HUMAN EVENTS pre-election feature. For each week until Election Day, November 6, HUMAN EVENTS will offer a detailed analysis of key election contests from coast to coast. Author of Races of the Week is Washington correspondent William Schulz, who has written extensively for HUMAN EVENTS in the past.

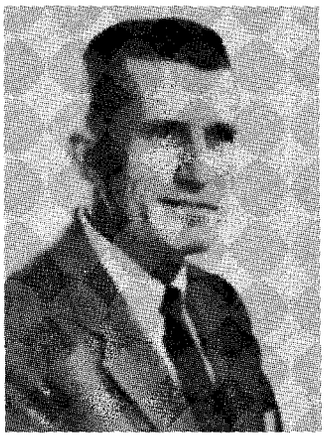
Oklahoma's 6th District

Gibson vs. Wickersham

FOR OKLAHOMA REPUBLICANS it was a crushing blow. Official figures the morning of November 9, 1960, showed that GOP candidate Clyde Wheeler had done the "impossible" and won election to the US House. Within hours, however, that victory was nullified. A recount by Democratic officials handed the House seat to Democrat Victor Wickersham. His margin of "victory": 76 votes.

Republicans feel now they have a golden opportunity to pick up that 6th District seat. Their candidate is a 44-year-old farmer by the name of Glenn Gibson who has vowed to take the fight to Wickersham.

Gibson promises a hard-hitting campaign. He will blast Wickersham for a left-wing voting record earned over a long period in Washington. Wickersham left the House after the 84th Congress, in 1957, to dabble in real estate.



GIBSON

He returned in January, 1961, and left no doubt where his sympathies lay. On the first key vote of this Congress, Wickersham voted to pack the House Rules Committee. He voted the Administration line on feed grains, labor minimum wage, federal housing, aid to education and public works. The conservative Americans for Constitutional Action calls his voting record 100 per cent "wrong."

The AFL-CIO says that Wickersham chalked up a 100 per cent pro-Labor voting record in the First Session, 87th Congress.

A lifelong farmer who built from scratch the largest honey company in Oklahoma, Gibson has long opposed federal farm controls. He has attacked Wickersham for his vote on the Kennedy-Freeman farm bill, a measure decidedly unpopular in Oklahoma.

Wickersham comes under fire for what Gibson calls a shoddy congressional career, for excessive use of his Government frank, for personal use of federal printing facilities, for lavish expenditures on a tax-paid European junket.

REPUBLICAN ANALYSTS give Gibson an excellant chance for victory in a district where Republican strength has grown in recent years. Although Democrats carried the district by 2-1 margins in 1956 and 1958, a determined Republican effort in 1960 brought the GOP candidate to within an eyelash of victory.

Wickersham is not only unpopular with Republicans. He has enemies in his own party, as well. The Congressman faced serious opposition for renomination and failed to achieve a majority of votes cast in the May 1 primary. He squeaked through to victory over Democrat James Bullard in the run-off that followed.

Wickersham is running scared. He has promised all things to all people, including a multi-billion-dollar 6-lane highway that would connect every military base in the Southwest. Military men call it a fantastic boondoggle, but Wickersham sees it as a vote-winning gimmick.

Noting Wickersham's assertion that he is a friend of the "common man," Gibson says: "No man is merely a 'common man.' It is man's right to be uncommon, if he can. Each person is born a free individual. Unlike my opponent, I have faith in the abilities of free men."

Texas' 16th District

Foreman vs. Rutherford

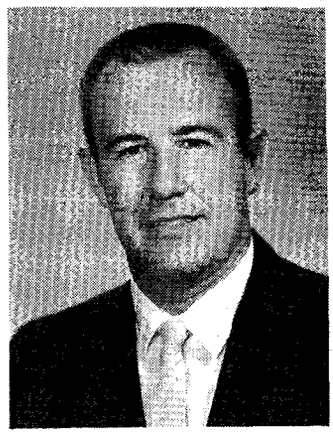
MONTHS AFTER BILLY SOL ESTES first burst upon the front pages of America, a Texas Congressman issued a short statement. He was J. T. Rutherford, in whose district Billy Sol lives.

On May 23, Representative Rutherford said that a casual examination of his records showed that Billie Sol had contributed a check for $1,500 to him on January 17, 1962. He had no recollection of the gift until May.

Rutherford claimed that he had great difficulty in remembering Estes, and contemplated the use of "truth serum" to refresh his memory. John Bagwell, an Agriculture Department counsel, helped. He said that Rutherford on January 6 had attended a Washington meeting to discuss Estes' cotton allotments. Also present: Billy Sol and Senator Ralph Yarborough (D.-Tex.), another solon to receive Estes' cash.

Rutherford maintains that he did no favors for Estes but the campaign gift is sure to be a key issue. Republican Ed Foreman says that Estes will by no means be the major issue, however.

Says Foreman: "Rutherford goes to Washington and votes the Administration line. He comes back home and talks conservative."



FOREMAN

The record bears out Foreman. According to the Americans for Constitutional Action, Rutherford votes conservative 37 per cent of the time. He voted to pack the Rules Committee, increase minimum wage provisions, for so-called "area redevelopment" and for federal aid to education.

Opponent Foreman is a Goldwater Republican. He says that his ACA rating would likely be 100 per cent. Paradoxically, however, Foreman hopes for liberal support in the campaign.

Three self-styled liberals garnered 20,642 votes (to 22,051 for Rutherford) in the May 5 primary. Many of their supporters have threatened to vote for Foreman in protest against Rutherford's "moderation." Support by angered liberals helped elect John Tower to the Senate a year ago. It is also counted upon by Republican Jack Cox, candidate for the Texas governorship against John Connally.

DESPITE THE ESTES GIFT and Rutherford's erratic voting record, Foreman has a tough fight ahead. The political machinery in all 19 counties is firmly held by Democrats.

For more than a year, Foreman has campaigned across the broad expanse of West Texas. Seventy per cent of the district's population is located in three counties, El Paso, Midland and Ector. Here Foreman has made great progress. He confidently expects to garner from 60 to 70 per cent of the vote in Midland and Ector, carrying the area as John Tower, Dwight Eisenhower and Richard Nixon all did. Republicans think they can pick up at least 50 per cent of the vote in El Paso County. In this one-time Democratic stronghold, Foreman has organized 62 of 68 election districts.

He campaigns with his family through the district's 16 other counties in a 1927 Model-T touring car, shaking hands and meeting people at rodeos, barbecues and cook-outs. "I'm a country boy," he says, "and I think we're catching on real good."

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Donald I. Rogers, business and financial editor of the New York Herald Tribune, delivered an "off-the-record" speech to the Washington Roundtable in New York City on May 23 which has electrified many conservative businessmen since its initial appearance in print. Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) entered it in the Congressional Record on July 5. (See HUMAN EVENTS, Page 532, July 21, 1962.) Because of the wide interest in Rogers' speech, we are reprinting it below.

Section Three
August 11, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Businessmen: 'Don't Subsidize Your Enemies'

By DONALD I. ROGERS

Business and Financial Editor, The New York *Herald Tribune*

I WANT TO DISCUSS with you, off the record, your own policies whereby you are voluntarily paying hundreds of millions of dollars in support of your most vicious and most effective enemies.

You don't believe me? Well you are . . . and you are doing it willingly and voluntarily and, believe it or not, with considerable pride.

In fact, the skillful liberals are using the money of your stockholders—which you hold in trust for them—to finance attacks upon you. I am not talking about the money taken from your companies in taxes, but money you, yourselves, spend or donate.

I imagine you, yourselves, have no idea how much American business is paying voluntarily to finance attacks upon the very principles most of you believe to be vital for the successful functioning of your business. I have only a vague idea, but it is many millions each year.

You do it through your advertising budgets.

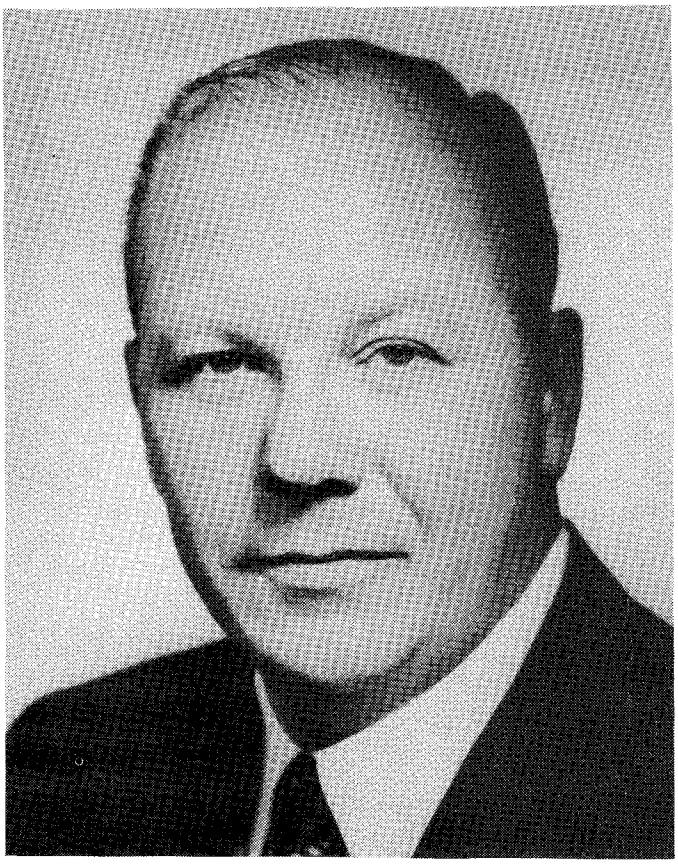
LET'S CONSIDER the newspapers in our Nation's Capital. There are three daily newspapers in Washington—two of them conservative and sympathetic with the business point of view. These are the old and respected Washington *Star,* and the Scripps-Howard afternoon paper, the *Daily News.*

The third paper, the Washington Post, is the journalistic flagship of the New Frontier. It rallies behind anything that is advocated or even suggested by Kennedy, Schlesinger or Heller. It is all out for increased government spending. It is in favor of Federal urban renewal. It has fought effectively for Federal aid to education for years. It has trumpeted and pleaded for the President's medicare program tied in with social security. It endorsed with praise the President's tax bill, and urged immediate passage.

Think of anything, anything at all, in the way of legislative proposals that you fellows have opposed and have urged the National Association of Manufacturers to block, and you will find that the *Post* is trying to get it enacted.

So, when businessmen place their advertising in Washington, where do they place it?

They place 600,000 more lines per month with the liberal, Welfare-State-loving *Post* than in the *Star,* and the poor old conservative *News* runs a poor—a very poor—third.



DONALD I. ROGERS

The latest figures in *Editor & Publisher,* the newspaper trade journal, show that businessmen even increased their support of the *Post* this year over last year, as though in indorsement of the *Post's* militant support of the liberals, and, just to make sure there's no mistaking the point, they decreased their support of the *Star.* The increase for the *Post* amounted in a single month to more than 200,000 lines.

I know of one company, headed by a most conservative management, that last year placed one-third more advertising in the left-wing *Post* than it did in the conservative *Star.*

The picture is no different here in New York. We find that the greatest amount of advertising placed by businessmen goes into the liberal *Times,* which supports most of the Welfare-State program and at most only gently chides the Administration from time to time.

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The influential conservative New York papers, the *Herald Tribune* and the *World-Telegram & Sun*, get very sparse pickings indeed from the American business community which they support so effectively in their editorial policies.

In some other cities, we find the same kind of situation—as in St. Louis, where the liberal—sometimes wildly liberal—*Post-Dispatch* gets businessmen's dollars in much more plentiful quantities than does the conservative,pro-business *Globe-Democrat.*

But, thank Heaven, American newspapers, by and large, are predominantly conservative in their editorial policies—that is, on their editorial pages—as President Truman was wont to complain and FDR before him. President Kennedy has even commented on it, opining, "I am reading more but liking it less."

Even in the predominantly conservative press, however, businessmen have no standing and do not make their wishes known, for if the publisher, being a businessman himself, making his conservative policies prevail on the editorial pages, the editors, wherever they have *carte blanche,* as most of them do, fill the papers with liberal columnists, and squeeze out the conservative columnists wherever and whenever they can. Any syndicate manager will testify to this. It is a well-established fact in my profession.

FAR MORE ATTENTION needs to be given to the broadcast media. This is where business and the ideals of conservatism are taking a twin trouncing the like of which has never been seen before.

I'll give you an example. Jack Paar! The most copious public weeper since Mossadegh. Because a lot of underworked Americans weren't tired enough to go to bed and because of single-station dominance in many communities, Paar got an audience of 30 million Americans on his late-night show.

Attracted by this audience, American businessmen invested over $25 million a year in the Jack Paar show. They continued to do so when Jack Paar became Fidel Castro's buddy—the frank supporter of the sinister man who brought communism to the Western Hemisphere.

They continued to do so when Paar viciously attacked and lied about Bill Buckley, editor of the *National Review* and author of *God and Man at Yale,* a man who devotes his time and his personal fortune to the defense of prinicples which America must abide by if the free enterprise system and capitalism are to survive and prosper.

Has it never occurred to American businessmen that if the Paar show was worth $25 million a year to publicize their products, it was worth hundreds of times that amount to the left wing which got far more time on the show than the advertisers—and all for free?

For some time the only network-wide-sponsored newscast on TV was the Huntley-Brinkley report, which won an Emmy Award. On that show the liberals get the breaks and the conservatives do not.

The special reports that Chet Huntley narrates are even farther on the liberal side than when he restrains himself in company with Brinkley. I'm sure you heard the repercussions that followed Huntley's sponsored show on the Newburgh story. Whether it is true or not that Huntley's crew bribed reliefers to wail and weep their lies into the microphones, it is most certainly true that the Newburgh city officials who were attempting to clean up relief abuses were made to look like cruel and heartless monsters.

Before Huntley and Brinkley, Edward R. Murrow was the advertisers' darling. This man's liberal record is certainly well-enough known to require no comment from me.

And then there is Howard K. Smith in Washington who supplies free air time to the New Frontiersmen to push their programs. He does this with the sponsorship of American business enterprises. They pay him liberally to help defeat the system that permits them to operate.

I'll read you a direct quotation from Howard K. Smith's recent show. This is Smith himself talking as a commentator and analyst, not as a reporter:

"A myth is something which is not true but which nonetheless is strongly believed. In America today it is widely believed that government spending is evil, when in fact it is essential not only to spend but to increase expenditure. It is widely believed that the national debt is sinful and should be liquidated. In fact the debt is essential—probably it would do us good to increase the debt. It is believed that the Federal budget should be mostly, if not always, in balance. In fact, a succession of balanced budgets would lead us into even deeper recessions, not out of them."

Howard K. Smith, informing the public how to vote—paid for by American private corporations—would you believe it?

Over on CBS there's a chap named Charles Collingwood who decided it would be a good racket to analyze the press on a regular basis, just as *Time* magazine and *Newsweek* do, and incidentally, have you ever known *Time* or *Newsweek* to have anything kind to say about a conservative newspaper?

This fellow, Collingwood, had something to say about me. I'll quote from his show:

"The financial sections, especially on Sundays, still support, as in a private game preserve, some crusty old dinosaurs left over from an earlier age, who see the doom of the republic and the end of the free enterprise system in obscure tax provisions and speeches by government officials. If you have a taste for this kind of reading, as I have, you will find it on the pages near the stock tables. My favorite crusty old dinosaur is Donald Rogers of the *Herald Tribune.* He writes well, has a sense of humor and an infinite capacity for indignation and I have come to prefer him to David Lawrence, so long regarded as the master of this particular genre."

Collingwood was sponsored by an American corporation which sells its goods for a profit and hopes to continue to do so. Here I am trying to write an honest column on economics, trying sincerely to analyze our progress or lack of it, and one of the American corporations I have been trying to serve goes out of its way to pay this man to attempt to destroy me.

With the increased emphasis on information programs, promoted by Federal Communications Commission Chairman Newton Minow, you can expect that Washington officials will be given more time on the air to put their views across to the public.

The broadcasters' fear of the FCC dictates this action. But if American businessmen choose to sponsor

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such programs dedicated to undermining themselves, they can have no complaint. If the broadcasters are acting out of coercion, the businessmen will be acting merely out of bad judgment.

A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, even before the economy was under such a wide frontal attack from the left wing, there was an hour-long color TV show sponsored by the manufacturer of roller bearings. This was prime time, on the full NBC network, plus scores of nonaffiliated stations. It was a very expensive show. When it came time for the commercials, this sponsor showed long freight trains and said how some of the finest freight cars traveled with his roller bearings.

I wrote to him and suggested that since he couldn't sell his product directly to the public and since he couldn't expect me to refuse to ride the New York Central to Albany unless it got cars equipped with his bearings, that it might be a good idea to devote a little of this precious air time to selling or explaining or defending the free enterprise system. After all (though I didn't say this in my letter) this chap couldn't make or sell his bearings if it weren't for the free enterprise system.

Can you guess his reaction? He sent me a two-sentence note notifying me that he had referred my letter to his advertising agency, and advising me that he never took any part in such things.

You know my reaction? All I could think was that when we lose this precious free enterprise system of ours, as ultimately we will if we don't awaken to realities, it couldn't happen to a more deserving son of a—a more deserving guy than this one.

THERE IS STILL ANOTHER AREA in which the fruits of American capitalism have been employed to help cut down the fruit tree. This is in foundations. One of the largest foundations in America is the Ford Foundation and somehow this was set up so that the earnings of American enterprise finance the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and the Fund for the Republic—both of which have launched attack after attack on American principles and have advocated more government controls over business.

Businessmen haven't always been wise, either, in selecting educational institutions as recipients of their bounty, donations from profits . . . profits, I remind you, belong to stockholders. Businessmen are properly proud of the fact that they have given so much to educational institutions. Perhaps they should be. I'm no educator. But I would suggest that it's not how much you give but how strategically you give that counts most.

In my book many of the noble names in the world of education have lost their nobility over the last several years, and I'd want to look beyond a school's traditions and into its practices before I gave it much support. Moreover, I serve notice that as a loudmouthed stockholder, I'll expect any managements which represent me to use the same discretion, else they'll hear from me, for I am tired of paying money to train my enemies, even if you are not.

I think many businessmen will admit privately, if not publicly, that they were hoodwinked—fooled, deceived—by the Committee for Economic Development, (CED). Eminent businessmen donated the cash and loaned the prestige of their names to this organization and then found the CED's reports and conclusions veering frighteningly off to the Left, including the Committee for Economic Development report on economic education. Gentlemen, how about a reappraisal?

Don't you believe that in all of the incidents I have cited here, American businessmen probably would have done less harm to the American institutions if they had paid all of these millions of dollars right into the Communist party? I doubt that Americans could be persuaded to accept communism right off the bat, but they most certainly are being persuaded to accept Fabian socialism, and it is business money —your money—that is financing the job. Are you happy with the results? Is this what you wanted?

If it is, don't expect people like me to devote much more time in support of your system, for it is a phony one, doomed to self-destruction. Why would I want to buy the securities of a corporation whose leaders are using my profits to destroy the system I am supporting with my hard-earned savings? It would be better for me to join forces with the Communists, where I am sure their practical minds would find profitable use for my talents and I would benefit by suitable rewards.

I don't think the average stockholder is aware of what has been going on, and that is how it has been permitted to continue so long. But that doesn't make it right—and there are still a few of us around to alert the stockholders.

I am tired of defending a system that is headed by such muddled thinking as to ignore its own warriors and pay tribute, glory and riches to its enemies.

I speak as a man who has toiled into many midnight hours writing four columns a week defending you, a man who has tried desperately to get someone to sponsor a TV show depicting the benefits of the free enterprise system, a man who has tried for 12 years to get more than eight—you hear, eight—newspapers to print his column which favors free enterprise and analyzes the evils of socialistic measures—a man who has, in two years, delivered 168 lectures on the one subject, "There Goes Free Enterprise."

But I'm damn near through. So are a great many others of your friends. They're ready to quit you, too, against their better judgment, against their sincerest beliefs. But if I may speak frankly, the leaders of American business damn well don't deserve their custodianship of the trust.

Naturally, I exclude you who are present here today. Your presence speaks for itself.

I wouldn't broach this subject if I didn't have ideas about what can be done about it.

FIRST, LET ME tell you what I would not do if I were the head of a corporation. I would not try to influence the policy of newspapers, radio stations and TV networks. They have a right to pursue the policies their managements choose. Businessmen would be guilty of flagrant abuse of their positions as advertisers if they tried to buy changes of policy with their advertising budgets . . . if we have any freedom left, it is because we have a free press, and it must be preserved.

But there is nothing unethical—indeed I think the practice is most ethical—in making sure that your company's dollars don't go to undermine your company and all other companies operating within the framework of the free enterprise system.

If you don't mind my saying so, I think the business executive who paid the bill on the Howard K. Smith show is a plain damn fool who deserves to be fired. I feel the same way about the sponsor of the Huntley show on Newburgh.

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If I were a top executive of a company, I would quietly lay down the policy that prohibited advertising in any publication or upon any TV show which had a predominantly leftish tinge to it.

Only a few newspapers would have to be eliminated, and other newspapers in the same cities are perfectly capable of doing the advertising job required.

TV and radio, of course, are even easier. There is no station or network that need be eliminated. The company need only be concerned that it does not sponsor left-wing propaganda, whether in news, documentaries or outright propaganda. There's nothing wrong with insisting on objectivity . . . a presentation of both sides of a story.

Some companies may want to be more courageous and seek out shows to sponsor which put forward the business point of view, though if all companies tried that it could be disastrous. There are no anti-trust laws forbidding a little collusion there, where certain companies could be selected to sponsor such shows —may I suggest those which do not sell directly to the public, but to other businessmen—take steel companies; when I buy a car or a can opener, I don't ask whether it's United States or Bethlehem or Republic steel that I'm getting in my car or can opener.

General Electric and Armstrong Cork have been highly successful in building andiences while taking care not to be connected with undermining America. Both have even, on occasion, gone a step forward and allowed their shows to come right out in support of American fundamentals. Shocking thought.

But they found that it isn't necessary to sponsor Leftwingers to get an audience. Sponsor the baseball game or the opera or Lawrence Welk or a comic who is nonpolitical—and who can quarrel with you?

But don't finance your own corporate demise.

A NEW GENERATION is coming out of the universities now—a more conservative generation. If sponsors drop the aging liberals who now seem to dominate the news shows and public affairs shows of the networks, I believe that the networks will find some new and sounder men to take their places from among the conservatives in this generation now developing.

The move is up to the business community.

I'm sure I don't have to belabor the lesson of the Ford Foundation and I'm sure you will draw up the rules most carefully if you decide to set up a foundation, not that the lesson has been so striking in practice.

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I think the lesson of the Committee on Economic Development is also plain. The NAM and the Chamber of Commerce are known quantities with written codes. They can be trusted to represent the business viewpoint at a time when the business view needs presentation more than ever.

(I must say, though, that I'm still mystified as to why the NAM was so silent when the steel pressure was on—the biggest skirmish of the New Frontier war on business—biggest so far, that is.)

Is it so foolish to put your money into the hands of your friends rather than your enemies?

I realize fully that the spending of advertising money is not a chore of high corporate executives. The ultimate choices often are left to underlings, space buyers and others whose only guides are circulation figures, market data, milline rates and coverage costs. It is not their fault, however, if they have never received any policy instructions from management—they won't consider ideological factors unless they're obliged to.

If they lack this instruction, I consider this a major management failure.

I know from experience that the space salesman on the *Herald Tribune* doesn't get to see top management —and probably wouldn't know that the president of the company he was soliciting for an ad had written me a personal letter congratulating me on fighting government encroachment upon business. And the space buyer that our space salesman does see probably will place his ad in the papers with the heavy circulation—the *Times,* the Washington *Post,* the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* and on the Paar shows and Chet Huntley shows—as the statistics indicate.

For some time now businessmen have been venturing into politics. Some have produced some worthwhile results. Some have made contributions. They're healthy, of course, these contributions, but peanuts compared to the advertising dollars these same businessmen spend to sponsor what turns out to be anti-business, anti-free enterprise propaganda.

IT IS AMUSING TO ME as an observer to see the businessmen worrying about the business image. The bad image they worry about today is the one they paid to create.

I do not suggest that any special high-blown organization is necessary or that any blacklist should be prepared. All that is necessary is a little attention and the insistence that your own company make the decisions as to what is worth supporting and sponsoring and what is not.

I do not suggest that you diminish the effectiveness of your advertising to any degree. Sell your products. But don't let the advertising support people who would destroy the system which permits you to manufacture and sell your products at a profit.

We are not yet halfway through the first four-year term of President Kennedy. Over the years much power has been ceded to the Presidency. Mr. Kennedy has gained more power than ever before and is still seeking yet more power. Much of the power he seeks is power directly over you in business.

I don't think we need to analyze the President. I do that four days a week, anyway. But the chips are down. There's a war on and it's a mighty war.

Are you going to be among those businessmen who pay for the ammunition for the enemy's side?

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Section Four
August 11, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS

Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

New Liberal Hookup

Encyclopaedia Britannica Acquires Fund for the Republic 'Guidance'

From the Richmond *News Leader*

One paragraph in a report of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions brought us up short:

"In October, 1960, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., wishing to become a more effective instrument of understanding the contemporary world, asked the Center for guidance and cooperation. Since Britannica proposes for future revisions of its volumes the same aim as the Fund for the Republic—the clarification of the basic issues—the board of directors acted favorably on Britannica's request. The agreement with Britannica covers the period until December 31, 1962. The association with Britannica has not changed the purposes or procedures of the Center. The work being done for Britannica is what the Center would be doing anyway. *Some estimates of the potential influence of the Center through the medium may be gained from the world-wide sales of Encyclopaedia Britannica.*" [Emphasis added.]

They said it; we didn't. And what they say of the Center's "potential influence" through the medium of the Britannica, an old and respected reference work, is enough to give us the cold chills. This is how brains are washed. Observe the sudsing action.

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, in case you've lost track, is the latest mutation of the Fund for the Republic—and in this stage it seems to justify all the hallucinations about the genetic effect of radioactive fallout. The Center now is ensconced in an old mansion atop Eucalyptus Hill in Santa Barbara, where it gathers eminent men from all fields to relax, think and discuss problems of democracy.

In practice, most of the eminent men turn out to be card-carrying members of the Liberal Establishment in the full sense which Richard Rovere has defined—in a way no one else could—in his new book, *The American Establishment.* The beautifully-printed pamphlets and publications that tumble down from Eucalyptus Hill almost all come to the conclusion that the growing complexity of democracy requires man to surrender to group machinery. Occasionally individualist speakers like William F. Buckley, Jr., or Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago are invited to the sessions; but the Center regards such visitors with the detached amazement of the English Court viewing Pocahontas. In the words of its president, Robert Hutchins, the Center tries to be "a modern version of the Lords Spiritual—a body of the wise and just, armed only with the authority of their collective intellect and moral purpose."

So the Britannica, under the "guidance" of the Fund for the Republic, will be revised out of the mold set for it by the dour Scotsmen who started it in Edinburgh about the same time that Diderot was getting busy. These revisions will give its volumes "the same aim as the Fund." Together, they will clarify basic issues. And this reshaping of a once-valuable work is announced as a mark of progress—although interlocking directorates might have brought about the changes just as soon. The editor in chief of the Britannica is Harry Ashmore, member of the board of the Fund for the Republic [and former editor of Little Rock's *Arkansas Gazette*]. We suppose that Mr. Ashmore's writers [like Orwell's Winston Smith in *1984*] are already at their desks in the Ministry of Truth, patiently revising the records page by page according to memoranda sent from Eucalyptus Hill, and dropping the old errors of the Britannica down the Memory Hole.

Portrait of Hoffa

From the New York *Daily News*

> This subcommittee, by force of the overwhelming evidence, must conclude that [James R.] Hoffa, in callous disregard of the welfare of the Teamster membership, in fact does not care whether officials of Local 239, or, for that matter, officials of any other segment of the Teamster Union, are robbing, stealing, dealing under the table, or indulging in any other improper or criminal activities.

So says Senator John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) in a report to the Senate filed July 25.

The report was drawn up more than six months ago, but the chairman of the Senate racket investigation subcommitee withheld it until after Antonio (Tony Ducks) Corallo, a Local 239 big shot, was convicted along with Justice J. Vincent Keogh and Elliott Kahaner of plotting to fix a Federal court criminal case.

HOFFA

In the 40-page document, Senator McClellan mentions a wiretapped telephone conversation in which one Bernard Stein passed word from Hoffa to Corallo that "I don't care if you want to—you want to steal, you want to rob, go ahead. . . . Don't get caught, don't get caught."

The subcommittee unanimously rejects Hoffa's sworn denial that he ever sent such a message. Hoffa loftily declines to comment on the report.

This Hoffa runs one of the nation's most powerful labor unions. He is now working toward contracts which will all expire at the same time. That would enable him to paralyze the whole country overnight.

The McClellan report signifies just one thing, we believe; namely, that it is time for Congress, in the nation's defense, to put labor leaders under something comparable to the anti-trust laws. How about action at this session?

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First: Public Housing For Middle Incomes

Urban renewal is sold to local communities with the assurance that the local people themselves will make the decisions as to what is to replace the cleared-off "blighted" areas.

Urban renewal would not be so easily sold to many cities except for that "promise."

But once the city council has passed the legislation accepting an urban renewal program the attitude of the Urban Renewal Administration changes. The Federal government furnishes a large part of the money; the Federal government lays down the conditions—you do as the Federal bureaucrats tell you to or you don't get the money.

An example of this dictation is described in a news story which appeared in the Washington *Daily News* of July 10. It concerns Alexandria, Virginia, just across the Potomac River from Washington, D.C.

(Note that the "planners" are asking not just for public housing but for subsidized housing for middle-income brackets. This has not yet been defined but presumably means families with incomes from $4,500 to maybe $10,000 or $12,500 per year. The "planners" want the Federal government to take charge of everybody from the cradle to the grave.)

Portions of the newspaper story follow:

A Federal urban renewal official warned Alexandrians last night that the city must provide middle-income housing for colored people if it expects to get Federal money for renewal projects.

Richard Fishbough, area coordinator for the Housing and Home Finance Agency, said final approval on long-delayed urban renewal for Alexandria has again been held up until the city can prove it has "decent, safe and sanitary housing" available for those displaced by the project.

"Without this," he said, "it's impossible for Alexandria to participate in the urban renewal program.... You must demonstrate you can relocate your people."...

The city, Mr. Fishbough said, has a "serious housing shortage." A proposed 225-unit public housing project would meet HHFA's basic requirements, he added, but not if the project merely displaces more people.

(The city has considered several public housing sites, any one of which would destroy homes of about 100 families. This, Mr. Fishbough said, would not satisfy HHFA.)

Mr. Fishbough and Alexandria Urban Renewal Director Martin Smith spoke at a special meeting of the Retail Merchants Association. Members are especially concerned over the urban renewal project dedicated to revitalizing the downtown business area and anxious to know when, if ever, buildings will be taken over by the city.

Mr. Smith couldn't give them specific answers.

"If we clear the logjam on housing," he said, "first priority will go to Mudtown."...

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Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., vs. Sacco and Vanzetti

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

ON APRIL 15, 1920, paymaster Frederick Parmenter and his guard, Alessandro Berardelli—each carrying a large metal box containing half of $15,776—were suddenly shot and killed. The two murderers, who had been leaning against a fence, rushed to pick up the boxes, then, with another man, sped away in a nearby automobile.

It has been more than 30 years since Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were executed for this brutal murder. But, despite the passage of time, the episode stirs passionate debate even today. Many still cling to the belief that these two Italian immigrants were innocent of the crime for which they were convicted.

It has been fashionable, particularly in the academic world, to cite the Sacco-Vanzetti case as the first, genuine pre-McCarthy witchhunt. As the New York *Times*, *The New Republic* and *The Nation* chorused in the Twenties (*plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose*), these two admitted anarchists had been "victims" of a massive Red scare.

And since Sacco and Vanzetti were "victims" of Communist hysteria, so, reason liberal academicians, have been the innocents who appeared before the committees of Martin Dies, Joe McCarthy and Francis E. Walter. And no one—but no one—has punched this theme home harder, or with more regularity, than historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., the President's special assistant and speechwriter.

In his first edition of *The Age of Roosevelt—The Crisis of the Old Order,* Schlesinger relates, presumably as history, the following account of the murder:

> In May, 1920, following the murder of a paymaster in South Braintree, Massachusetts, Brockton police picked up two Italians in an automobile filled with the innocent and febrile literature of anarchistic propaganda. These were the days of the Red scare: Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, not knowing why they had been stopped, hardly able to understand English, acted confused and guilty. Eventually brought to trial on the murder charge, they stood little chance as confessed radicals, aliens and draft-dodgers in a time of hysteria. The trial judge, who soon boasted of what he had done to those "anarchistic bastards," completed the design of Massachusetts justice. So in 1921 Sacco and Vanzetti were sentenced to death—two obscure immigrants about whom no one cared.

A sad enough tale, one must admit, to wring a tear from the most callous of Red-baiters. Author Robert H. Montgomery has pointed out, however, in his nearly definitive book on the subject (*The Murder and The Myth*), that Schlesinger's version suffers a slight flaw: It is untrue.

Some of the facts are these:

- They were not arrested in an automobile (it was a streetcar).
- They were not carrying literature, "febrile" or otherwise.
- Vanzetti knew English very well; so well, in fact, that both he and Sacco, who understood the police too clearly, admitted they had originally lied to police when interrogated.
- They were sentenced to death in 1927, not 1921.
- Far from on one's caring, these two Italian immigrants managed to raise $300,000 in their own defense.

Moreover, historian Schlesinger doesn't even mention in his first or revised versions that both men were found with guns. Or that Sacco was captured with a .32-caliber pistol loaded with a rare type of bullet, the same type found in the body of Berardelli. Facts like this, of course, must seem irrelevant to Arthur; he has never apologized or rewritten his account of the murder in any significant way.

BUT NOW COMES even more damaging evidence. In the June issue of *American Heritage,* Francis Russell, who has made it his life-time work to prove that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent, sheds some new shafts of light on the subject.

In preparing a book on the case, Mr. Russell traced the long-missing bullets found on Berardelli to a police captain, now deceased. These bullets were analyzed by two ballistic experts using modern techniques not used at the trial.

Their findings: that the death bullet, beyond question, came from Sacco's .32-caliber pistol.

And Mr. Russell, who now believes Sacco pulled the trigger, feels that Vanzetti, if not guilty himself, at least knew who committed the Braintree crime.

Of course, one hardly expects Arthur to change his book just because he is wrong. But maybe his father, an advisor to *American Heritage,* will, at least, stop periodically urging Massachusetts citizens to erect statues to Sacco and Vanzetti. And maybe, just maybe, some professors may begin to examine more closely the cases of other alleged "martyrs," sacrificed to alleged Red scares.

Harvard Rebuffs Some SOBs

From the New York *Daily News*

The Sons of Business Society—founded by Representative William H. Ayres (R.-Ohio) to keep green the memory of President Kennedy's remark that all businessmen are sons of something else beginning with B— has offered Harvard University $100 to set up an economics scholarship. Harvard has refused the gift.

How now, brown cow? Does Harvard feel about businessmen as does the President; and will it henceforth turn down all contributions from businessmen? Hasn't it ever heard the saying: "God sent it, though the devil brought it," whereby righteous organizations sometimes justify accepting donations from questionable characters?

What's happened to Yankee realism and hardheadedness at Harvard, anyway?

ON SOCIALIZED MEDICINE—"I was in Vienna when the early steps toward socialized medicine which we are now experiencing were being taken there. Citizens were all aglow about 'free' medical services—later found to mean only increased taxes. Vienna doctors opposed the move. The ablest doctors left Vienna for fields where their status depended upon medical ability, not upon lengthy medical reports or beautiful handwriting." **(Dr. Charles A. Siler of Oak Park, Illinois, in a letter to the Chicago Tribune)**

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World-Wide Coffee Price Fix

From the New York *World-Telegram and Sun*

Coffee drinkers—and they are legion—are having their fate settled for them in conferences now under way here.

Under United Nations auspices, and with a big push from our State Department, some 200 delegates from 54 nations are attempting to work out an international deal. Purpose: Price stability. Which probably means higher prices for consumers.

The retail price in the United States, which averaged more than $1.10 a pound in 1954, has slipped to a current average of 62 cents. In Brazil alone there is said to be a present surplus of 52 million bags, more than enough to supply the world for a year.

Coffee historically has been a boom-and-bust business. When prices were low, growers chopped down their plants. Tons of the beans have been dumped, or used for fuel. When prices were high, growers hurriedly planted more trees—which take three to five years to produce. And another surplus piled up.

If and when the new coffee agreement is reached, it is pretty sure to have two basic provisions: Crop quotas for the producing countries, and price floors for the consuming countries. No telling how the details will be worked out, but to give you an idea: Roberto Alejos Arzu, president of the Coffee Federation of the Americas, recently said 83 cents a pound would be a fair price for Americans. This 20-cent hike, over present prices, would mean $600 million more to the Latin America producers, which is just the amount the Alliance for Progress has promised in Latin American economic aid.

In some countries, notably in South America, coffee is the major crop. As the prices goes, so goes the economy. The economic well-being of these neighbors is important to us—they are customers. This is the reason the State Department gives for favoring a price-fixing coffee agreement—although the United States is not a producer, merely the biggest consumer.

The same argument was applied to the sugar control law, recently put through Congress.

But just as in the case of sugar, if the new coffee pact is adopted, it will be another form of foreign aid. And United States consumers, by far the most important coffee market, will pick up most of the tab. Without being asked whether they like it.

How to Defeat a Liberal

The second of two special HUMAN EVENTS Supplements designed to aid conservatives in the 1962 congressional elections is now available. Entitled "A Conservatives's Guide to Political Action," it includes HUMAN EVENTS' popular practical politics series of six months ago plus the many other political how-to-do-it articles which have appeared in HUMAN EVENTS. It joins the Supplement announced a few weeks ago—"The Truth About ADA."

No Democratic candidate should be permitted to equivocate on the vital ADA issue!

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Adlai on Reapportionment

From the Montgomery *Advertiser*

The foes of reapportionment in Alabama might well call on Adlai Stevenson for support.

Stevenson, this country's chief delegate to the United Nations, addressed himself the other day to a proposal that the United States should have more votes in the UN than the small member nations of Africa and Asia.

This is only fair, some believe, because the United States has a larger population, a larger armed services to back up the UN, and contributes more money to the United Nations than any other member. But, despite this, the United States has one vote in the UN, the same as the delegate from a small country that is paying almost nothing to support the organization.

Stevenson said none of these arguments is sufficient reason to change the voting and representation arrangements in the United Nations.

It may be true, said Stevenson, that the little country and the big one have the same voting strength, but they are "very far from equal in their influence." Voting equality aside, "the greatest influence will always be exerted by that great power whose basic purposes harmonize with the majority of the members." Therefore, proportionate representation is unnecessary.

On second thought, it might be better to leave Stevenson in the unreal world of the United Nations, for that kind of talk to a state legislature would get him and everybody else laughed out of Federal court.

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Section Five
August 11, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street S. E.
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Our Immigration Laws: Fact and Fiction

A Look at the Drive Against the Walter-McCarran Act

By GEORGE FOWLER

ONE OF THE MOST vociferous and self-righteous "bleeding heart" liberal crusades is the current attempt to "update" United States immigration policy, as set forth in the Walter-McCarran Act of 1952. It is unfortunate that defenders of the act have not been nearly so tenacious in putting the facts before the public. Their comparative reticence has allowed a sentimental smokescreen of untruth and half-truth to becloud the entire issue.

Liberal arguments regarding our nation's standing immigration laws run something like this: Laws based on national origin, race or color only serve to perpetuate false racial theories and prejudices, and they defeat the ideal of brotherhood. Immigration quotas should be based on factors other than the 1920 Census, which ostensibly favors the peoples of Northern and Western Europe, and upon which the National Origins Law of 1924, the forerunner of the Walter-McCarran Act, was based.

Eliminating these so-called inequities, the argument continues, would take the sting out of the Communist campaign which attempts to picture the US as a nation which preaches but does not practice brotherhood.

This argument is being advanced this year with the Hart Bill (S. 3043), which is currently before the Subcommittee on Immigration of the Senate Judiciary Committee. In introducing his bill in March of this year, Senator Philip A. Hart (D.-Mich) stated:

"The discriminatory quota provisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952 still remain on our books, giving offense to peoples of many nations who are our friends. America's role of leadership in the free world is one of great sensitivity and our position is not enhanced by an immigration policy which implies that some nationalities and races are less desirable members of the family of man than are others."

Also in the fight to knock out the Walter-McCarran Act is the Communist Party, USA, which recently attacked the act as a tool of "racists and [John] Birchites."

THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT that the motivating force of the Communists, on the one hand, and Senator Hart and the liberals, on the other, is quite different. The Reds seek only to stir class hatred; to slow or reverse our progress toward mutual respect and understanding between different races and ethnic groups.

Senator Hart and his liberal backers see our existing laws as highly unfair and a source of extremely bad publicity for the United States in terms of "world opinion." But all liberals are not looking at this question from a purely ideological standpoint, for—as a look at the current White House occupant will show—there are some extremely hardened and practical politicians among them.

Practical liberals know that the ultra-liberal Northern wing of the Democratic party has historically nurtured itself on the votes of the large immigrant blocs in the great northeastern and midwestern cities. These are the "bread and butter" states in terms of congressional delegations and the Electoral College.

With the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of once-immigrant groups advancing by their own volition, and not looking toward the local Democratic wardheelers for assistance, the party sees itself gradually losing control of these former groups. Wouldn't it be wonderful, then, to bring in great numbers of people who would likely find themselves in rather poor economic straits, and thus become prime fodder for the Democratic political machines?

But what of the ideological argument advanced by the liberals? Are we really being "unfair" to many ethnic groups in the United States? Should our entire immigration system be revamped—or even scrapped?

ONE MAJOR ARGUMENT of the liberals, that we should use recent censuses as our standard rather than that of 1920, holds no water under practical examination. This argument is advanced on the theory that the 1920 formula favors immigrants from the Northern European nations and the British Isles, and is thus discriminatory against the nations of Southern and Eastern Europe.

Granted, the great rush of immigrants from, say, Ireland and Germany preceded the great immigrations from Poland and Italy. But the overwhelming majority of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe arrived during the latter two decades of the 19th Century and the very early years of the 20th. Thus, the 1920 census is about as fairly reflective of the "melting pot" image of America as one can get.

A little known but highly significant fact, and one which is never publicly advanced by the liberal champions of revised immigration laws, is the question of

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non-quota entrants into the United States. The Walter-McCarran Act provides for the entry of more than 150,000 quota immigrants per year.

But, because of certain laws and provisions, about twice that number of immigrants enters the United States annually. The vast majority of them are "non-quota" immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and other areas not of Northern Europe or the British Isles! Thus, peoples who supposedly are being discriminated against have even chances with quota immigrants from the so-called "favored" nations in terms of coming to America on a permanent basis.

For example, Italy's quota under the Walter-McCarran Act is 5,666 immigrants per year. But, since the Walter-McCarran Act became law, a yearly average of 18,700 Italian citizens has migrated to the United States under other provisions. Thus the yearly average from that nation has not been 5,666, but well over 24,000.

In respect to this subject of non-quota entrants it is interesting—and important—to take a look at Chinese entrants. Last spring *Life* magazine, at the height of the heart-breaking exodus of Chinese from the Red-held mainland to Hong Kong, editorially supported the Hart Bill, which would increase the Chinese quota from its present 205 a year to 5,335. Much was made at the time of the extremely low figure of 205, but official entry figures show that, since 1951, an average of 3,274 Chinese has immigrated to the United States each year.

It is a well-known sociological fact in the United States that the Chinese-American community ranks near the top in terms of personal responsibility, self-help and taking care of its own people. I have heard it said many times, and have never heard anything to the contrary, that relatively few Chinese have ever been on the welfare rolls of San Francisco, a city with the second-largest Chinese-American population in America.

But will Americans of Chinese ancestry, or any other ancestry for that matter, be able to take care of great new numbers of their own nationality entering the United States?

THE HART BILL would provide for 250,000 quota immigrants per year, rather than the current number. But as non-quota immigration runs almost even with quota entries, approximately 500,000 immigrants would be entering the United States each 12 months.

The nation's birth rate is providing us with about three million additional citizens yearly. There are over four million unemployed in the United States, plus between three and four million additional workers employed part time. We are entering the age of industrial automation at an accelerated pace, thus making the task of securing and holding a job increasingly precarious for millions already in the nation's work force. With the emergence of the Common Market and America's intent to ally herself closely to it, a long, and no doubt tenuous, period of adjustment lies ahead—a period which will affect many millions of additional workers.

Is it fair then, either to American workers or to those who would come here seeking a better way of life, to indiscriminately boost our immigration totals out of proportion to what we can responsibly handle? The nation's public welfare rolls zoom higher annually, and the nation is beset with other Gargantuan problems.

IN TRUTH, immigration to this country is running higher today than at any time since the National Origins Law became effective in 1924. Recent annual admissions exceed *total* immigration into this country during the four decades between the close of the Revolutionary War and 1820—an estimated 250,000 persons!

Must we unfairly burden the American people merely because a few liberals cry that, if we don't, we will offend "world opinion?" Must we expose countless thousands of new immigrants to disillusionment and lack of opportunity in order to serve the designs of politicians who see them not so much as people as votes in the ballot box?

If any nation in the world is and has been non-discriminatory in terms of its immigration policy it has been the United States of America. What other nation in the history of the world has thrown open its doors to millions seeking liberty and opportunity?

The American immigration record is a positive one. It is part of the thrilling story of America and her greatness. It has not been negative, discriminatory and grossly unfair as the "bleeding-heart" liberals contend.

We have today a sound and liberal immigration policy. If the liberals wish to junk this policy and champion a bill that would prove both unhealthy for the American economy and grossly unfair to both American citizens and the new arrivals, that is their right.

But it is also the right—and responsibility—of thinking Americans to prevent dangerous tampering with our immigration laws. If the liberals fail to get the Hart bill through this year, they will redouble their efforts next year. Only vigilance and intelligent presentation of the case against revision can defeat these efforts.

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Section Six
August 11, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street S. E.
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A Two-Platoon System for Politics?

By FREDERIC NELSON

AFTER THE BALL was over at Los Angeles on Bastille Day, 1960, and the Kennedy clan had taken its vows at the Sports Arena, a young member of the Hyannis Youth Movement who had helped put it over stretched himself out on a bed in a hotel room and philosophized. At any rate, this is how Theodore H. (Teddy) White quotes him in *The Making of the President*:

> Now I feel sorry for the older men. I think we learned something during the war about how to do things; we learned to work in a way the generals didn't understand. They'd tell us what to do, but we had to go out and organize the thing—cut the red tape, get the stuff there on time no matter how, throw away the rule book. We learned to work together without any fussing. The other day when they tried to change the rules against us, nobody got frantic or excited. Larry just said, "I think we ought to get our fellows on the rules committee to work on it," and Kenny said, "I guess you're right. I'll go round and give them the word." And that was it. No conferences, no planning. I think we learned to work that way during the war, and I feel sorry for the older fellows who never learned.

Every senior citizen knows that there are reasons enough for young men to be sorry for old men—even for such "older fellows" as had a war of their own to teach them how to get a few things done.

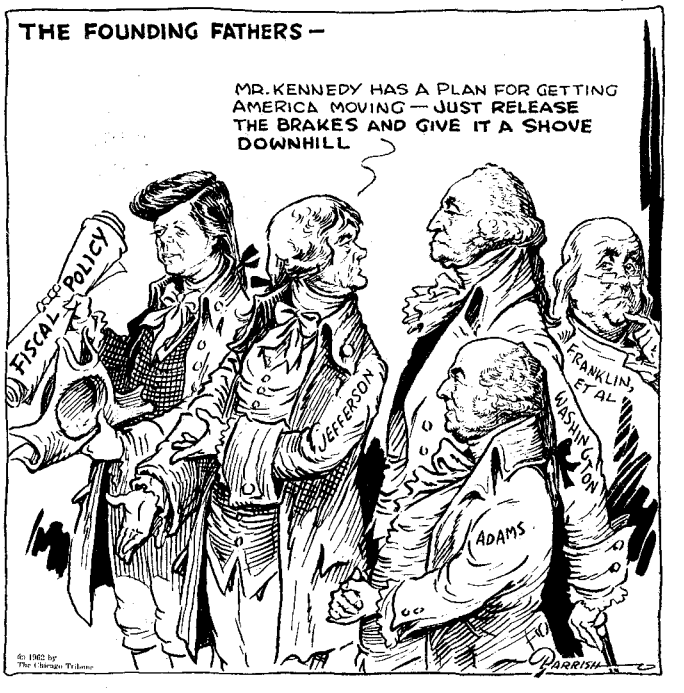
One of the most frustrating miseries of crabbed age is the need to watch the younger fellows crash foward with eager self-confidence into the same snares and quagmires which bedazzled their elders, and many of which could be avoided by a casual look at how the game, which is a very old one, is supposed to be played.

If these dynamic fellows would greet an obvious error with, "Sorry, I'm afraid I flubbed that one," the old ones would understand. It's the contemptuous assumption that the worst boo-boos of the New Frontier deserve more praise than the occasional triumphs of its predecessors that one finds irritating.

IN POLITICS we appear to have developed a breed which can "get things done" at national conventions, organize the thing, get the money there on time, initiate the rumor, the threat, the promise of reward, nominate the candidate and get him elected—and then leave us flat!

It's ten years since what passed for younger fellows at the Republican National Convention put their man across by virtue of tricks and strategems culminating in the disgraceful libel that Bob Taft had "stolen" somebody's delegates. That perversion of *Thou shalt not steal* haunts honest men to this day—including some who naively let themselves be deceived by it.

AS HISTORY MIGHT HAVE BEEN


THE FOUNDING FATHERS —
MR. KENNEDY HAS A PLAN FOR GETTING AMERICA MOVING — JUST RELEASE THE BRAKES AND GIVE IT A SHOVE DOWNHILL
FISCAL POLICY
JEFFERSON
FRANKLIN, ET AL
WASHINGTON
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HARRISH

Nevertheless, the Fancy Dans carried the day, and General Eisenhower became President. The fuddy duddies were repulsed, and that was supposed to be great.

Actually, Ike's performance in office dispelled the fears of some of us who prematurely judged him by his early backers. After the sacking of Sherman Adams, Ike began to show his class. But can you picture a Bob Taft, or his equivalent, falling for a "Spirit of Camp David," or permitting the State Department to give us Castro, or opposing the effort to bring executive agreements with foreign countries under some sort of control by Congress?

Taft was too inept, and too tactlessly honest to get himself nominated—but how greatly the country needed him becomes more apparent every day.

If that Los Angeles friend of Teddy White is doing any musing these days, he may be less certain than he was two years ago that the generals didn't know how to get things done. With a relatively young fellow up there on the bridge giving an occasional persuasive imitation of Captain Queeg, and falling into traps that wouldn't have fooled Eisenhower, a good many people begin to wonder whether it was a good idea to throw the rule book away after all!

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ON GETTING THAT NEW TEAM . . .

"Fortunately the American people will have a choice and they will choose . . . either to put anchor down or to sail. So we'll see in November."
—JFK's Press Conference July 23, 1962

to the New York *Herald Tribune* (that's a heap of *Herald Tribunes*) and firing a veteran stenographer for suggesting that the President was in a swimming pool when calling for his amanuensis to "take a law" suggests Macbeth in the last act. ("Throw physicians to the dogs! I'll none of 'em!")

But these smudges on the "image" are matters for the Kennedy idolaters to worry over; they aren't important to other people, unless to some insiders who insist they knew it was coming but didn't expect it so soon.

HOWEVER, WHEN it appears that the experience of the "older fellows who have never learned" is to be junked and the defense of the West in Berlin is to be risked because, *inter alia*, "the able but humorless West German Ambassador" (as *Time* described him), Dr. Wilhelm Grewe, "seemed out of place in the bubbly, jovial atmosphere of the New Frontier"—and objected too strenuously to reported plans to compromise with the Soviet aggressor—people begin to wonder who's in charge.

This concern has hardly been relieved by the apparently successful effort to force upon Laos another of those "neutralist" frauds which serve to disguise the surrender of another outpost of the free world. Yes, the older men did try that sort of folly to their sorrow, but the new fellows refuse even to ask how it worked out. There was no need for a "position paper." Mao Tse-tung made it clear a long time ago that "in the world from now on 'neutrality' is only a term for deceiving people." If he had said "Souvanna Phouma is a Trojan Horse," the message could hardly have been clearer.

To avoid taking the wrong pills you do have to read the labels on the bottles.

EVENTUALLY, uncertainties and contradictions on the bridge are communicated below, and the gobs begin to ask each other whether the Old Man knows where the hell the ship is bound for. And if the Old Man is a young man ("born in this century" anyway), whose companions on the bridge seem better qualified to sell tickets than to navigate, distrust builds up into a 10,000,000 share "Black Monday" on the Stock Exchange.

Of course there were other factors: The Sixties had begun to sizzle too rapidly; industrialists were undoubtedly dismayed to find themselves regarded as pompous spivs; businessmen wondered whether they could safely make a dollar without being arrested, or at any rate sneered at in a press conference; maybe mutual funds "sat on their hands."

But a disconcerting number of the worriers were the Little People, whom the New Frontier is supposed to be shielding from the sharks. The big selling was in "odd lots" by people who own ten shares of Thissa and 20 shares of Thatta. When these people begin to wonder whether things are being run by the Boy Mayor, it's no good blaming Swiss bankers for slumps in Wall Street.

Furthermore, the worrying isn't a monopoly of senile malcontents clutching their savings books in trembling hands as they make the night hideous calling the roll of Youth's indiscretions. All over the country young men, far more youthful than Senator Hubert Humphrey, or even G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams, are tumbling over each other to form conservative clubs, found conservative periodicals in universities, picket the left-wing picketers, and make themselves generally obnoxious to the liberals. It looks like a two-front war for the New Frontier, which is going to have a hard time proving whose prow Youth is at.

Inasmuch as ersatz young men will continue to ignore the prat-falls of the past, the "older men who never learned" and the young men who are learning fast will have to put up with them and their pestiferous "dynamism."

What we need in politics is the two-platoon system. The eager, offensive team would get its man nominated and elected, and then retire to the bench before it has a chance to "get America moving"—over a cliff. Then the old pros, who have kept the rule book out of sight during the electioneering high jinks, would take over, and everybody would know that the infield fly rule was still in force, no matter whose brother the umpire was!

Anyway it's just a suggestion.

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